2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

learn the ritual so that when he himself was middle aged he would be ready for the succession. The man who is Leg at Santa Rosa is father's brother's son's daughter's son to the present Keeper. But in this case the Keeper has other assistants, especially assigned to him by the council because of his great age. They are called his Eyes, his Ears and his Voice, and seem to have been appointed as a special favor because the aged official had trouble in seeing, hearing and in speaking loud.

New villages and villages where the Keeper died suddenly, sometimes appointed a Keeper with few formalities. Standing Rock, founded from Mesquite Root, had no fetish and returned to the home town for ceremonies, but they built a house for meetings and selected one of the older men whom they called Keeper. He performed the routine duties and, when the village wanted a rain ceremony of its own, borrowed the fetish from Mesquite Root and invited the speaker from there. The Keeper at Coyote Village died without a successor and the people insisted that his brother take the office, even without knowing the speeches. They invited any speakers they could find. At present, when Wise speakers are growing scarce, a man who knows any portion of the speeches, even if he has no official position, will be invited to recite them.

THE CRIER

Papago organization being always of a flexible and informal sort, the office of crier was not a fixed one. "The Keeper, if he had a strong voice, would make his announcements himself" (22), while the Hunt and Game leaders would make theirs. But some villages had the system found in the Pueblos of a regular official to make the announcements and to pass his office on by loose heredity. We may conjecture that this was the official pattern and that it was the smaller and poorer villages who cut down the number of officials.

In most large Field villages, the people were awakened every morning and the men called to meeting every evening. The calls seem to have been standardized for each village or perhaps for each individual crier, since any informant was immediately able to recite the official call, but they were all different.

Dawn Call (Komarik) 19

It is daylight. All around is visible the land.
Come forth and see what is around us.

Dawn Call (Kaworik) 14

Hurry! Awake! That you may do something good.
That for the villagers it may be good!

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

202 If any communal activity had been agreed upon at the meeting, the
512 announcement of this followed the call. At sunset the men were summoned to the Big House.

Call to Meeting (Vamori) 25

Now thus let us arrange to do: let us hold our meeting! Now here, under the west, let them sit down, the elders! Thus says our leader, that we shall assemble; that we shall sit down. The under-the-greasewood-growing tobacco we call for and we request the under-the-grease-wood-growing tobacco. All our friends, let them assemble and let them speak.

Evening Call (Kaworik) 14

Hither come at evening. Then we will surround the fire we have made and we will make ready that which we shall do for our future. And do you bring your tobacco.

Evening Call (Komarik) 19

Hither come. Hither bring your cigarette. We will smoke and speak of something.

If an emergency arose during the day, the men might be called from the fields.

Danger Call (Komarik) 9

Let us assemble!
A man has come running and tells of danger.
Assemble and listen!

Special calls were also used before all the ceremonies. These were more elaborate.

Call to Sing while Liquor ferments
(Archie) 27

Our fire has burned and the sun has gone down. Our fire has burned and the sun has gone down. You have eaten your meal. Now come together, following our old custom. It will not be long. Two nights we will sing and then go back to work. Come, do your part, so that the shaman can divine what will happen. This is our old custom. It is not new. It has continued for long.

WAR LEADER

624 The war leader was, in ancient times, like the Keeper, a ceremonial
701 official whose first duty was to know the war ritual and to recite it on the proper occasions. He received his office from his predecessor, just as the Keeper did his, and held it to old age. It was he who

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

Chapter IV

THE PAPAGO FAMILY

342
352 HOME to a Papago is a small cluster of low, earth-colored buildings in a clearing encircled by creosote or mesquite bushes and cacti. The house is commonly a one-room structure, but there may be several rooms or, if the family is large, even several small houses. Near by is a ramada, roofed with dry grass and protected on two or three sides by a paling of saguaro ribs or ocotillo branches, which, if watered, may take root in summer and form a wall with green leaves and brilliant red flowers. Here, in good weather, cooking and other household chores are done. Suspended from crotches or pegs in the ceiling beams are bridles and other horse gear, the family washtub, and various domestic paraphernalia. A forked post holds a large olla pottery jar of water from which everyone drinks. (Water is treasured, for it must be hauled [312] by wagon from a well which may be several miles away.) One or more tiny huts serve as storerooms for tools and grain, and space is often set aside for a chicken yard and a corral. In the yard the dogs lie sleeping in the shade of the family wagon.

361
● 512 The Desert People spend most of the year out of doors. Their personal belongings are kept indoors, and in winter they sleep inside, but at least half the year they cook, eat, work, sleep, and visit in the yard or under the ramada. Nevertheless, there is a high degree of privacy, for the brush and the distance between houses or house clusters allows each family to live unmindful of the neighbors.

312 The old Papago house, a round structure thatched with grass, has not been used in most parts of the Reservation for fifty years. Modern houses are of the Mexican type: wattle-and-daub, adobe, or stone construction. The wattle house, which is built of saguaro ribs or ocotillo branches plastered with mud, can be cheaply and quickly put up by almost anyone. The adobe brick house is more difficult to construct, and usually helpers must be hired, hence the poorer families cannot afford this type of housing. Stone houses, built near accessible rock outcrops, also require considerable labor and skill and are rather rare.

[Text continues on p. 42-Analyst]

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910) 1912
NU28 Papago NU28

in the east, from where black clouds come. "The black clouds have many inclinations in different directions and we can, by our singing, turn them toward us and influence the winds to make this poor earth moist" he says. Then he asks for a song, and in response the group sitting on that mat sings about rain. After having in the same way solicited songs from the rest of the groups, seated at the cardinal points, and received immediate and enthusiastic answers by invariably well-executed songs, the old men return to the lodge.

They immediately, however, come back for a similar round of visits, the speaker this time asking for an expression of friendship for himself. Every one answers "friend!" or gives him his degree of relationship. Next, the groups on the four mats sing in turn and, after that, wine is again offered around four times.

The pair of old men reappear and the speaker again admonishes those on the mats to look for the shining house in the east, where the black clouds are. A wonderful cloud reaches up to heaven and in it lives the mocking-bird. He comes out, jumps around, puts his head back and talks. "Through your strength," he says, addressing the mocking-bird as if present, "come all the clouds that are, all the winds that are, all the lightning, all the thunder. From all the mountains spring up other clouds joining the rest. It matters not how wide the earth is, the clouds touch all the sides. It matters not how many sierras there are, the clouds cover them all. It matters not how many arroyos there are side by side, the clouds cut across them; nor does it

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910)1912
NU28 Papago NU28

After a while she‡ appeared at a
482 distance with a big tin bucket on her head, but how much
512 more beautiful my small Rebecca would have looked carrying an earthen-ware jar of native workmanship. There are lots of pottery vessels still manufactured by the Papagoes, but the white man's implements are recognized to be more practical. I suppose the change is unavoidable, but the bucket was distinctly disappointing to my photographic sense. Before she approached my vantage point, an Indian met her who evidently asked for a drink, for he lifted the heavy bucket down, drank, and put it on her head again. When I gave her some candy after the short and unexpected ordeal, she looked frightened. She stepped along quickly, showing somewhat that she felt the weight that she had been carrying for fifteen minutes. This was six o'clock in the morning and, on rising, she had first helped her mother milk the cows.

Half an hour afterward she again passed my camp; this time she was bound for the sahuaro fields along the base of the mountains. The girl of thirteen years walked fast, carrying over one shoulder the long stick with which the fruit is brought down. Two hours later she returned with a small bucket full of the juicy fruit, on which a newly arrived guest and the rest of the family gorged themselves, while she sat near by resting. She did not look tired, however, and I saw her later helping
[177] her mother make wheat biscuits, baking them in an oven adopted from the Mexicans.

124 It was a great pleasure to be with these natural people.
533 I sang to them my newly acquired Papago song, "The
774 ‡ [i.e., Marianita, a young Papago girl. -Analyst]

[Arizona Labor Camps]

466 means little because of tremendous variation in physical
362 form of southern Arizona labor camps, which has been discussed previously.

AGE

362 A few of these temporarily inhabited rural villages run by cotton farmers on their farms have been used a long time--up to 40 years. But most of them are quite new since the great gamble on expanded cotton production is of very recent date: mainly during and after World War II. Most labor camps in Pima and Pinal counties have had little time to deteriorate.

Because construction differs so greatly, figures on age of camps have comparatively little meaning in terms of camp quality. The average in 1950 seemed to be about 5 years--6 years in Pima county where some camps in use a long time lengthened the average, and 4 years in Pinal county where the main expansion in acreage has occurred in years immediately past.[1]

LEISURE TIME

●512 For 6 days of the week, the pickers are in the fields
461 with the sun. On 5 days they quit work from about 3 p.m. to sun down, and are ready for sleep soon after eating an
[529] evening meal, although there is time for a little drinking or gambling for the men. On Saturday the evening is free after an afternoon shopping trip, and Sunday is a day of rest.

466 Cotton farmers show almost no realization that their
526 hands have any leisure time by providing recreational fac-
517 ilities. The only form of recreation provided in any of
529 the camps studied by the writer was a base-ball field. These were generally simply cleared spots where ball could be played, and employees furnished their own equipment. Only about a seventh of the camps seem to have had even this elemental form of reacreation.[2] Of necessity, much

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[362] from only 8 farmers in both counties. Their investment
[466] averaged $4,487.50 per farm, but since one farmer of the group had two camps, investment per camp averaged only $3,988.89.

[1] Based on information on 28 camps averaging 5.3 years old.
Pima county: 17 camps studied averaged 6.3 years old.
Pinal county: 11 camps studied averaged 3.8 years old.

[2] 3 of 21 labor camps on which data was obtained.

46 of the employers who discussed Papago picking capabilities with the writer believed the Desert People picked slower than other harvest hands. But just as many of them also believed Papagos picked cleaner cotton,[1] which makes them sought after cotton pickers. Clean picking and ability [293] to get along well with employers also outweigh the serious handicap of drunkenness among the Desert People. Employer's experiences with drinking Indians naturally varies. But almost all reported their Indian crews were far below full strength on Monday. A Marana farmer said, • [512] "If they'd quit drinking they'd be the best. But 99% of them do drink. They are never any good on Monday, pick up on Tuesday, and are working good on Wednesday." Another remarked that Papagos start to drink Thursday night. These are extreme examples--some cotton farmers luckily hired only families which didn't drink--but a Monday lay-off from picking is general. And growers who have employed Papagos for many years are quite accustomed to bailing their Indians out of jail for $10, or coddling men like J. who "works one week here and one in [578] the city 'hotel'." The faculty of the Desert People for not arguing or causing trouble must count very strongly with cotton farmers for them to put up with other failings of Papago harvest laborers. Whether their pro-Papago attitude would survive creation of a Papago Labor Service is extremely doubtful. For the type of cotton grower common in southern Arizona would tend to interpret a Labor Service as just the kind of trouble he tries to avoid in hiring the Desert People. The social welfare activities of a Labor Service as suggested by Dr. Thompson are exactly the sort of trouble cotton growers would avoid by not hiring the Desert People.

464 466 Whether a Papago Labor Service tried to place workers or the Desert People were placed through the Arizona State Employment Service, cotton growers would look askance. They prefer pickers who deal directly with them over pickers sent out from the ASES for the simple reason they are usually better pickers. Migrants who come directly to the farms are experienced in picking cotton--whether they are Anglos or Indians, Negros or Mexican-Americans. Farmers can depend on them to pitch right in and pick their weight. Pickers sent out from ASES offices are not always so dependable. Field offices in Pinal county help many experienced migrants find places, along with inexperienced beginners. But in Pima county a high

[1] Based on 15 interviews in Pima, 11 in Pinal county.